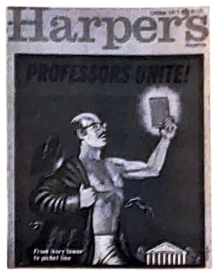
UNIVERSITY GUARDIAN

Vol. 1 No. 2 Publication of the University Council-American Federation of Teachers November 1971

Special Issue



PROFESSORS UNITE!

By Myron Lieberman

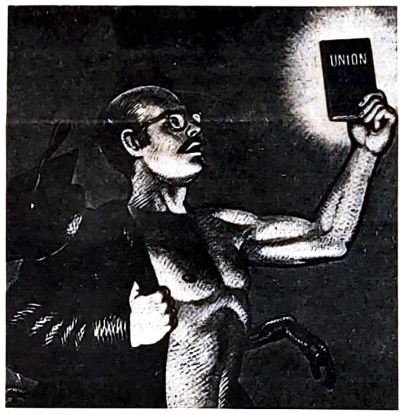
IF YOU THINK CAMPUS UNREST is a thing of the past, consider this scenario: It is late summer, sometime in the '70s. For months, union representatives of the 2,000 faculty members of the State University at Muddy Pond (SUMP) have sparred with the administration over a new contract. Now union officials dourly inform the press that a faculty strike is a real possibility unless there is some "give" by the administration on salaries and fringe benefits. Asked where the money is to come from, a union spokesman hints at higher student fees. Then, just as the SUMP administration is about to approve this solution, the executive secretary of the University Union of Students calls a press conference and reads the following statement:

The 40,000 students of SUMP have had enough. They now pay an average of $2,000 each in tuition. This comes to $80 million, or 20 per cent of the university budget. Aside from the fact that higher fees will drive hundreds of needy students off the campus, we are appalled at the faculty union's persistent refusal to accept student participation in faculty evaluation. We have also noted with growing concern the administration's effort to raise dormitory rents and cafeteria prices.

The executive committee of the student union has therefore unanimously voted in favor of a mass refusal to pay any tuition at all if it goes up as a result of the faculty union's intolerable pressure on the administration. We support adequate faculty compensation. But any increase at this time should be contingent upon real faculty accountability and should be fixed only through bargaining in good faith with the University Union of Students.

Copyright 1971, by Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co., Inc. Reprinted from the October, 1971 issue of Harper's Magazine by special permission.

The student spokesman means business, and the faculty union representatives know it. For one thing, the student union has an imposing war chest: $20 dues are paid each year by about 20,000 students. For another, the student union has lately filed ten lawsuits against various professors, alleging that their arbitrary and capricious grading has caused severe financial hardship and loss of reputation for the student plaintiffs. Even pro-strike professors don't want to see student unionists sifting through their lectures, examinations, and grades for evidence of incompetence or unfairness.



And so, behind the scenes, a compromise is worked out. The strike threat by students and faculty is resolved by agreement on a modest raise with no immediate hike in tuition. The students also get a faculty-administration pledge to disclose certain data on grades. And the student and faculty unions agree to undertake a joint lobbying effort to increase SUMP's legislative appropriations.

TO MANY AMERICANS, the most incongruous figures in this scenario would be the faculty. Students are assumed to be activists who dominate weak and confused administrators. But professors supposedly have no business belonging to unions and threatening to strike. It's little wonder the public thinks so, when most professors do also. Or did until the past year or two.

Unseemly or not, the unionization of college and university faculties will be one of the most important developments in higher education in the next decade. To be sure, the trend is still a modest one. At the start of this school year, only about 50,000 (or 6 per cent) of the country's 836,000 faculty members were employed under the terms of a union contract. And the collective bargaining that went into those contracts involved only about 180 campuses out of a U.S. total of 2,700.

Even so, professorial collective bargaining is on the rise throughout the country. As the 1971-72 academic year began, the Senate Professorial Association (an affiliate of the National Education Association) was bargaining on a single contract that will cover twenty-seven public institutions of higher education in New York. In Pennsylvania, an election was scheduled for October 6, to determine who would represent the faculties of thirteen state colleges and one university. Election petitions have been submitted.

Continued to page 2

AFT-The Union For The University

By David Brody

Professor David Brody is a leading historian of American labor, and author of THE STEELWORKERS: THE NON-UNION ERA, LABOR IN CRISIS: THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, and THE BUTCHER WORKMEN.

In its issue of October 1971, *Harper's Magazine* carried an article by Myron Lieberman on the current movement toward collective bargaining in American higher education. Because every faculty member at the University of California should read Mr. Lieberman's piece, the University Council–American Federation of Teachers herewith reprints it in a special edition of the UNIVERSITY GUARDIAN.

Perhaps the most notable thing about the Lieberman article is that it was written at all. When faculty unionism got started on most UC campuses two years ago (Berkeley's AFT local goes back a few more years), there was little or no sense of participating in a historic movement in American academic life.

Most of us joined in response to economic and political threats that seemed specific to this University. And we did so, most of us, as an act of conscience rather than with any real expectation that our efforts would make much difference for the forseeable future. Our colleagues, we assumed would take a long time coming around to the need for faculty unionism.

But it is amazing what can happen in two years. The continued emasculation of the University and the alarming deterioration of the position of the faculty–of which the denial of a cost-of-living increase for two years running is only the most dramatic sign–have made potential converts of virtually everyone. Nobody asks any longer the question: why do professors need organization?

The AFT Council, moreover, has demonstrated what even a small organization, if it has some resources and energy, can accomplish to protect the faculty from arbitrary, unpublicized administrative action in this huge university. Imagine how much more might have been done with a united faculty, and how much better able we would now be to demand the overdue salary raise and to ward off the threatened attacks on teaching load and tenure. And now we are also beginning to discover that what we are experiencing is not peculiar to our own campuses. On the contray, it is part of a nationwide movement toward collective bargaining among academics. The article reprinted below is one straw in the wind. When *Harper's* publishes a major article entitled "Professors, Unite!" you know something is happening.

THE ROLE OF LEGISLATION

This is what is happening. Fifteen states now have laws providing for collective bargaining in their public colleges and universities. The National Labor Relations Board recently assumed jurisdiction over private institutions with a gross annual income of one million dollars or more; this means that over two-thirds of the academics employed in America's private institutions are protected by federal law from discrimination for union activities (including the right to strike) and that they can have bona fide collective bargaining whenever a majority in any bargaining unit chooses a bargaining agent.

Collective bargaining laws, both federal and state, are merely enabling in character: they require no body of employees to accept collective bargaining. Yet consider what happened at the giant State University of New York. At the time SUNY came under labor legislation, there was virtually no organizing activity on the campuses, and a poll of the faculty would almost certainly have shown little sentiment for collective bargaining. Yet, after organizations entered the field and waged vigorous campaigns, only a tiny minority voted no representative in the final election for a bargaining agent.

The same thing will happen here at the University of California when the state legislature grants collective bargaining to public employees. That the legislature will do so is a

Continued to page 4

PROFESSORS, LIBRARIANS & ACADEMIC STAFF UNITE!

Continued from page 1

in such diverse institutions as the University of Rhode Island, Wayne State University, and the University of Hawaii. In California, which has the nation's biggest public campus system, roughly two-thirds of the faculty in the state colleges now favor unionization and collective bargaining, compared to less than half in 1967.

In assessing the pace of professorial unionization, one must remember that it took only nine years to organize 65 per cent of the nation's schoolteachers for collective bargaining. Two teacher unions, the National Education Association (1,000,000 members) and the American Federation of Teachers (250,000 members) achieved this result in fierce competition with each other for teacher members. Both the NEA and the AFT (including their state and local affiliates) have made impressive gains in salaries, fringe benefits, and working conditions by hard bargaining and willingness to take other militant job actions.

It is virtually certain that college and university faculties will follow this pattern in the 1970s. Faculty members have always been concerned about money and security, but they have sought these things as individuals, negotiating their status and rewards privately with deans and department heads. That they should now be bargaining collectively like auto workers or longshoremen or custodians at their own institutions requires some explanation, but it shouldn't be surprising. One reason is that the legislative situation is vastly more favorable to collective bargaining in higher education, and will be even more so in the future, than it was in the 1960s for public school teachers. In 1962, only Wisconsin had formally legalized collective bargaining by public school teachers, whereas by the summer of 1971, about fifteen states had enacted legislation authorizing collective bargaining in higher education.

Indeed, federal jurisdiction over labor relations in private institutions of higher education (which employs about one third of all academic personnel) is a recently accomplished fact. A 1970 ruling of the National Labor Relations Board held that the NLRB would assume jurisdiction over employment disputes in private institutions of higher education, provided that the institutions had a significant impact on interstate commerce. Subsequently, the NLRB ruled that it would assume jurisdiction over labor disputes in private institutions with a gross income of $1,000,000 or more. This ruling placed more than two-thirds of private higher education under NLRB jurisdiction and greatly stimulated unionizing activities in private institutions.

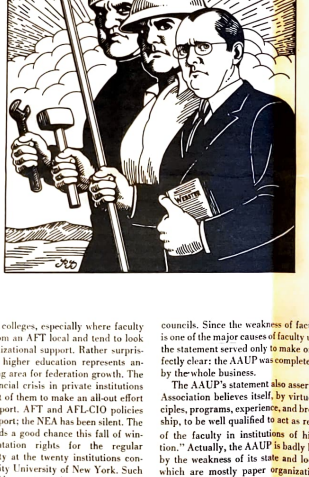
IN SELF-DEFENSE

ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH labor-management transactions elsewhere in the economy can readily understand why professors are rapidly seizing their opportunities to bargain collectively. A collective-bargaining contract provides much better protection against capricious or unfair management than a policy statement adopted unilaterally by management. By the same token, policies on academic freedom that are adopted unilaterally by boards of regents can be changed unilaterally. And this is what often happens when a policy comes under severe political or economic attack, precisely when protection is needed most.

Then, a professor's grievance may not be with the policy of a governing board, but with the way the policy is being carried out by the administration. Suppose, for example, that a board adopts a policy that guarantees a twelve-hour teaching load "except in emergencies." The faculty might have been agreeable to this policy, but the administration may then start interpreting "emergency" so broadly as to undercut the policy. Without a collective-bargaining contract, the faculty could do very little about this kind of *interpretation. With such a contract,* faculty members could take their grievances to an impartial third party for binding arbitration. Such procedures are normally used by unions to prevent management from interpreting away rights presumably granted in the collective-bargaining contract.

Many other positive features of collective bargaining are attracting professors into unions. But unionization and collective bargaining are also a defensive reaction to the fact that education is no longer a fair-haired boy in the competition for public and private support. Everywhere, higher education is under unprecedented budgetary pressure threatening basic salaries and tenure, as well as traditional professional perquisites such as sabbaticals and travel allowances. Even cutbacks in the number of faculty, unthinkable in the education boom of the '60s, are a reality on some campuses. In many fields—English and physics, for example—there are many more Ph.D.s looking for jobs than there are openings. This tends to drive down starting and low-echelon salaries, making younger faculty members especially apprehensive—and interested in unionization.

Conditions vary from campus to campus, but virtually all observers expect the next few years to be particularly difficult. A recent study of seventy-six public institutions indicated that ten expected to finish the 1970-71 school year with a deficit, with the number likely to increase substantially in the near future. The measures these schools are taking to meet the financial squeeze include deferring maintenance, eliminating new programs, and freezing or cutting back on faculty. In private higher education, the financial picture is typically more critical than in public institutions. In both sectors, therefore, faculties sense a coming assault on privileges and perquisites they have enjoyed for years; they are organizing in self-defense.



THE CHOICES

While the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) seems confused and ambivalent on the issue, the NEA and AFT are more than eager to organize faculties for collective bargaining. This was not always the case. Back in the early '60s, when the drive to organize public school teachers for collective bargaining got under way, only the AFT was criticizing the presumption (widely held among teachers themselves) that "professionals" simply didn't bargain collectively, no matter what the potential benefits. The NEA was overwhelmingly committed to a legislative instead of a collective-bargaining approach to terms and conditions of employment for teachers. But when the AFT won the right in 1962 to represent teachers in New York City, the NEA, though squeamish about the union label, galvanized itself to union militancy.

To their growing role as passionate suitors of the professorial hand, the NEA and AFT bring imposing assets. NEA already has more than one million members, and its annual budget exceeds $29 million. Although the NEA membership in higher education is less than half the AAUP's 90,000, the NEA is enrolling professors at a much faster rate, and its members typically pay much more than AAUP members in state and local dues. At every government level throughout the country, the NEA and its affiliates have staff and resources available for every aspect of unionization and collective bargaining. It already bargains for more professors, including those in two of the three largest systems of public higher education, than all other faculty organizations combined. If NEA affiliates can win all or even most of this year's major representation elections (e.g., those for all the state colleges in Pennsylvania and all of higher education in Hawaii), the organization will very probably become the dominant professorial union in the country.

IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE at least, the NEA's main opposition will come from the AFT, now one of the fastest growing unions in the AFL-CIO. AFT prospects will depend largely upon the financial crisis in higher education and the legislative attempts to limit or abolish tenure, to increase teaching loads, and to cut back on other faculty conditions of employment. At the senior college and university level, the federation's best opportunities appear to be in urban institutions. The AFT is also a strong contender in community colleges, especially where faculty often come from an AFT local and tend to look to it for organizational support. Rather surprisingly, private higher education represents another promising area for federation growth. The desperate financial crisis in private institutions is forcing most of them to make an all-out effort for public support. AFT and AFL-CIO policies favor such support; the NEA has been silent. The AFT also stands a good chance this fall of winning representation rights for the regular full-time faculty at the twenty institutions constituting the City University of New York. Such a victory would be an extraordinary boost to AFT affiliates elsewhere, especially at the senior college and university level. Ordinarily, however, AFT growth will be hindered rather than helped by system-wide bargaining. In a number of states, the AFT could probably win a majority at one or more institutions but be unable to gain a majority in the state system as a whole. If each campus is considered a separate bargaining unit, AFT affiliates will gain bargaining rights on those campuses where it has a majority. If bargaining is on a system-wide basis, the AFT's prospects will be less favorable, since it is not so likely to win statewide elections.

The American Association of University Professors is currently running a poor third in the race to represent faculties; its affiliates have bargaining rights on only 6 of the 180 or so campuses where faculties bargain collectively. The reasons for the AAUP's poor showing thus far seem obvious to everyone but leaders of the association itself. The leadership at first opposed the inclusion of professors under state laws granting bargaining rights to public employees. When such opposition proved fruitless, the leadership tried to exorcise the evil at its 1968 convention. For sheer fatuousness, the record of this convention may never be equaled. The convention adopted a policy statement asserting that because of its "special characteristics" the academic community should beware of dependence on external representative agencies," i.e., faculty unions. The statement did accept a kind of collective bargaining, but proposed that the professors should be represented by so-called faculty councils. Since the weakness of faculty councils is one of the major causes of faculty unionization, the statement served only to make one thing perfectly clear: the AAUP was completely befuddled by the whole business.

The AAUP's statement also asserted that "the Association believes itself, by virtue of its principles, programs, experience, and broad membership, to be uniquely qualified to serve as representative of the faculty in institutions of higher education." Actually, the AAUP is badly handicapped by the weakness of its state and local affiliates, which are mostly paper organizations without funds, facilities, or personnel experienced in bargaining. Indeed, many of the grievances processed by AAUP's national office over the years would never have arisen under a collective-bargaining agreement, and most of the others would have been settled much sooner, at less cost, and with more equity to the employee, under binding arbitration. These considerations, coupled with the association's grudging and confused acceptance of collective bargaining, make the AAUP's claim "to be well qualified to act as representative of the faculty" seem pompous nonsense to many faculties.

These comments may seem unduly critical, but they hardly begin to tell it like it is. In absolute terms, AAUP membership was slightly less in 1971 than in 1968. Since the total number of faculty eligible for membership had increased by 89,000 since 1968, the AAUP has actually been enrolling a declining proportion of the professoriate in recent years. Even if its policies change, it may take years before the Association can compete successfully with NEA and AFT. In fact, it may not get that chance.

CONSEQUENCES

THE STAKES IN THE RIVALRY are enormous. By 1980, institutions of higher education will employ approximately one million academicians, excluding administrative personnel. Add them (and their dues of about $100 million) to the three million teachers paying about $300 million in dues by 1980, and you have a powerful lobby for the cause of education in local, state, and federal legislatures. Whether the lobby will also gain better instruction for students is a debatable question. Nevertheless, we can point to certain consequences of faculty unionization that seem inevitable at this point. They will affect all of us, as parents, students, and taxpayers. Let us look at them briefly.

• *The end of "faculty self-government."* The concept of "faculty self-government" translates differently at different institutions. In practice, it may be anything from total institutional or departmental anarchy to the right of an individual faculty member to do as he pleases, regardless of institutional or public needs and interests. The most widely accepted statement on the subject was adopted in 1966 by the AAUP, the American Council on Education, and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges. This statement included the following:

> *The faculty has primary responsibility for such fundamental areas as curriculum, subject matter and methods of instruction, research, faculty status, and those aspects of student life which relate to the educational process. . . .*
>
> *The governing board and president should, on questions of faculty status, as in other matters where the faculty has primary responsibility, concur with the faculty judgment except in rare instances and for compelling reasons which should be stated in detail.*

This statement goes far in explaining why higher education is one of this country's most irresponsible institutions. When a faculty controls tenure, promotions, courses, and grades, if only by exercising a veto, to whom is it responsible except itself? What can be done about a tenured faculty that approves the appointment of incompetent professors? About academic departments or individual professors who use their entrenched positions to offer more courses in trivial subjects? Under "faculty self-government," nothing can be done about it. As long as faculties are the sole judges of their own actions, it is hopeless to expect higher education to be responsive to public needs and interests.

UNIONIZATION

The advent of unionization and collective bargaining is bound to inject a measure of management accountability into these matters. Despite what professors may think, decisions on personnel or programs are not right just because the faculty makes them. If they are right, it is because certain criteria were applied in making them. The crucial question becomes, therefore, not who made the decisions, but who is responsible for the criteria being followed. Under collective bargaining, the faculty has, of course, a major role in establishing the criteria. What they lose under collective bargaining is the operational responsibility for making and carrying out the decisions made according to those criteria. But their loss will be higher education's gain. The role of a faculty should not be to administer an institution but to ensure that administration is fair and equitable. Unfortunately, pathetic confusions about professionalism have misled faculty members into believing that professors at each institution are entitled to make management decisions. The tragedy is that so many administrators, governing boards, and legislatures have been conned into accepting this irresponsible doctrine. Collective bargaining will force professors out of administration, but administrators will be monitored by faculty unions in the performance of their administrative duties. This brings me to a second major consequence of faculty unionization.

• *College and university administrators will be forced into a management role, while boards of governors and trustees will lose power.* Most institutions of higher education, both public and private, are governed by boards of trustees or regents, who are distinguished, rich, politically influential, or perhaps all of these. Such boards usually enjoy broad latitude in conducting their business. If, for example, sabbaticals are on the agenda one month but other items seem more urgent at the time, the board has no difficulty in postponing consideration of the sabbatical question until the next meeting.

Under collective bargaining, this open-ended approach to the terms and conditions of faculty employment will no longer be possible. The very nature of bargaining requires that such matters be considered as a package by a fixed date. If agreement on a package is not reached, the outcome is likely to be a strike or job action of some sort. And in the absence of an agreement, neither the administration, nor the board, nor the faculty will find it easy to go about their business as usual.

More significantly, negotiators for the governing board must have authority to negotiate. A faculty union, like any other union, will not bargain with management representatives who are no more than messengers. Thus the dynamics of bargaining leads to a shift in power from the board to a bargaining team that will be part of the administration.

As administrators confront their management responsibilities, we can expect them to take a growing interest in educational productivity. "Productivity" has an unpleasant ring to most professors. Many contend that you can't measure it at all and shouldn't even try. Nevertheless, a recent study sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education concluded that the cost of producing a credit-hour of instruction rose about 3 per cent a year between 1930 and 1967. Even most professors would be slow to claim that quality has kept pace with those increasing costs. Thus an early outcome of collective bargaining will be to force administrators to question the means they use to attain institutional objectives. In the long run, this will lead to a painful but necessary analysis of the objectives themselves. Do we really need this section, this course, this program, this building, this dormitory? Once collective bargaining forces administrators to think hard along these lines, we can expect substantial changes in both the goals and operations of higher education.

• *Faculty unionization will be accompanied by a tremendous growth in organizational staff and resources.* Collective bargaining requires an enormous amount of work. Though professors have more time for these tasks than most people, they recognize that the do-it-yourself approach is not very effective. As faculty unions strive to become bargaining agents, they need personnel to assess the issues, prepare and distribute organizing literature, plan the strategy, and deal with a host of logistical, legal, budgetary, and tactical problems.

This full-time professional staff will present administrators with some serious problems. Administrators who have little or no bargaining experience will increasingly confront union representatives who are veterans at the game. The early bargaining results, therefore, are likely to have unfortunate consequences for students and taxpayers generally. Collective bargaining will be an expensive adult-education course for administrators willing to spend money to get out of trouble, but not willing to spend it to stay out of trouble in the first place.

• *There will be greater political activity by professorial groups.* Right now, professors are highly organized by subject matter or field of interest. There are hundreds of local, state, and national academic societies. As a group, however, academic organizations wield relatively little political influence. A convention of sociologists may denounce Congressman Claghorn, but Claghorn knows that the sociologists have no organization that can turn out the vote in his district. A denunciation by a faculty union with full-time staff at all levels of government would be something else again.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

As unionization gains momentum, the political influence of professors will increase correspondingly. The reason will not be their brilliance, a thought that would occur only to those who confuse professors with intellectuals. Rather it will come from their dollars and availability as leg workers. Professors are relatively affluent in our society. Whereas assembly-line workers cannot suddenly take off for New Hampshire or California to work in a primary campaign, professors often can. Sooner or later, however, some political leaders are going to raise embarrassing questions about professors suddenly dropping their duties to push some professorial cause far away from the classroom.

• *Finally, as suggested in our opening scenario, faculty unions will stimulate the organization of student unions.* The student population at many institutions is certainly large enough to support an independent student union to protect and further student interests. These unions will be financed and directly controlled by students. In most cases, they will employ permanent professional staffs who will provide continuity in student representation. The student unions will seek to participate in bargaining between the faculty and the administration, and they will often be the decisive factor in resolving disputes between these groups.

In these disputes, students will usually line up with the administration against the faculty. After all, the students are in the best position to know when professors cancel classes to "consult" in Washington, or when graduate assistants turn back sloppily graded and unannotated term papers. Students also know when professors assign their own textbooks in class, thereby collecting more royalties. If a student union decided to stop this practice, it might easily uncover state laws prohibiting public employees from getting kickbacks. It's just that no one ever thought of applying these laws to professors. In any case, the viability of student unions will depend on their ability to act effectively on campus issues. If they can do this, they could have a beneficial impact on higher education.

Let me conclude on an optimistic note, justified more by collective-bargaining experience elsewhere than by limited experience with it in higher education. Unionization and collective bargaining are conservative processes, especially in public employment. If one believes, as I do, that our society should always be on guard against arbitrary and capricious acts by public agencies, then strong and independent employee organizations are essential. They must be able to demand that politicians and public administrators explain their actions. They must be able to protect their individual members. They must be able to expose and criticize the shortcomings of particular employers. Individuals cannot do these things; neither can faculty organizations controlled by the administration. The paradox of faculty unionization is that although it is a faculty initiative, perhaps its most salutary effects will not be what it does for professors, but what it will do to make administrations more efficient, more alert to innovation, and more responsive to the public interest.

Unionization and collective bargaining are conservative also in the sense that they are well-established institutions in our society. The ultimate paradox is that such a conservative process, by being introduced so late into higher education, will have such revolutionary outcomes. □

The Union For The University

Continued from page 1

foregone conclusion. When New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania and other major states with which California classifies itself take the lead, can California be too far behind? Sacramento already has begun to move; and after Governor Reagan goes, if not before, there will be a law.

In the meantime, our own experience—lost salary, the threatened increase in teaching load, the cold hand of tightening regulations and administrative interference that is creeping up on all of us—will make us see for ourselves more and more clearly the need for collective action. And we should use the time granted us to prepare for the future—to develop effective organizations, to acquire some knowledge and experience in the arcane arts of collective bargaining and state politics, and to learn from the mistakes of our colleagues elsewhere (such as, for example, the SUNY choice of an NEA affiliate as bargaining agent). In any case, the main fact is clear: collective bargaining is coming. And we should give thanks to Mr. Lieberman for helping us to see this.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS COMPATIBLE WITH PROFESSIONALISM

Perhaps Mr. Lieberman also deserves our left-handed thanks for the wrongheadedness of his notions about academic collective bargaining. At least he has given us an example of the unthinking stereotypes that we will be up against when we begin to think in terms of contractual relations, and also a text from which to suggest the real possibilities. It's just no good to assume that there is only one way for collective bargaining to go, and that what holds for plumbers or teamsters holds also for college professors or librarians. We will be entering a largely uncharted area, unique in many ways as a ground for collective bargaining, and we intend to make our own rules and precedents—ones suited to our institution and to the desires of our constituency.

The UC-AFT and, we hope, any other faculty organizations that enter the field—is a democratic organization: it is open to every member of the UC faculty and other academic staff; its officers are elected and its policies represent the will of the majority; and it is absolutely autonomous on matters of collective bargaining.

The UC-AFT agrees with John Dewey who said many years ago that teacher unionism would be primarily a powerful force for improving the quality of education. The recent struggles of AFT unions in public school systems for reduced class size and better facilities certainly have proved Dewey right. And the UC-AFT is proving him right at the University of California.

With the prospect that collective bargaining will come to UC in the near future, other organizations will seek to win designation by the faculty and academic staff as the bargaining agent.The NEA, the AAUP, and perhaps other organizations, will compete with the AFT. And the UC administration, recognizing that collective bargaining is unavoidable, would prefer to deal with the weakest and least effective bargaining agent. Mr. Lieberman makes it clear, however, that collective bargaining is not just a slogan or shibboleth that organizations, such as the AAUP which basically opposes collective bargaining, can invoke because it is expedient to do so. To be effective, collective bargaining must involve the application of power by the academic staff to defend their interests and to preserve the quality of the University. The AFT, because it is part of the labor movement, can count on the support of powerful allies in Sacramento, Washington and elsewhere. Such support is absolutely necessary to secure adequate financing and to defend UC against those who would downgrade it and deny access to qualified students. As members of the teaching profession have learned elsewhere through bitter experience, only the AFT is in a position to muster the necessary power.

Let us turn to some specifics. In his fictitious opening, Lieberman depicts a threatening strike that pits professors against students. The implicit point is that academic unions will try to advance their interests at the expense of the students (unless, of course, the latter organize to protect themselves). This is the sheerest nonsense.

It was the UC-AFT that organized the campaign to prevent the imposition of tuition at UC in 1969-70 and, when that failed, demanded a scholarship system that would guarantee that no student would be kept out of UC because of tuition costs, again unsuccessfully. The UC-AFT has initiated an investigation into the need for the present high registration fee. And the AFT has opposed the strangling of financing to the University, above all because of the disastrous effect on the quality of education. The AFT Council rejects categorically the notion that UC students will be the victims of bargaining.

Or, take the matter of faculty self-government. Lieberman states unequivocally that this will have to go because collective bargaining will draw a sharp line between labor and management and their respective responsibilities within the University. This does seem to have happened in some lesser institutions where administrators have traditionally wielded power and where academic senates either did not exist or were ineffectual. But this is not going to happen at the University of California, not, certainly, if the UC-AFT has its way. On the contrary, we think that collective bargaining should aim at *strengthening* the Academic Senate.

The AFT believes academic matters properly belong within a system of faculty self government, and intends to gain for the Academic Senate binding authority which it does not now have in the areas of peer group judgement and curriculum. The university is a unique place. Far from destroying that uniqueness, collective bargaining can sustain and strengthen the academic process in its best sense. We should beware of the poverty of imagination—of which Mr. Lieberman's essay is an excellent example—that cannot conceive of collective bargaining other than how it has worked in the world of Jimmy Hoffa.

UNIONISM AND THE UNIVERSITY

It should be instructive to us to find even in this essay professors pictured as a privileged and irresponsible lot. Is it true that professors are "relatively affluent?" (By what standard, the genteel poverty in which teachers are expected to live? Or the level of other professionals of comparable training and talent?). Or that they don't work very hard? Is it true that professors can or do call off their classes and go rushing off to New Hampshire to do primary work? Is it true that professors grade arbitrarily and capriciously? Or that they reject accountability for how they grade? Is it true at the University of California that the faculty uses its role in promotion and appointment procedures to appoint "incompetent professors," or its curriculum functions "to offer more courses in trivial subjects?"

This is mostly nonsense, and Lieberman should know better. It is precisely because he does not, and because it is so easy for irresponsible politicians to make capital out of these false notions, that professors need to organize and have the benefits of collective bargaining. And when they do begin to stand up for themselves, they may well find that this is the way to erase many of the false notions about university life. Nobody, at any rate, will find it so easy to say that teaching loads should be increased because professors don't work or that salary increases can be passed up because the faculty already earns plenty, or that tighter rules and more administrative control are needed because professors are too irresponsible to govern themselves.

So we commend Mr. Lieberman's essay—the good and bad in it—to you. We think you will find it instructive reading.

AFT Wins Dues Checkoff

Academic staff—faculty, librarians and other non-Senate academic personnel—at UC now have the opportunity to have their AFT dues withheld from their paycheck.

Earlier this year, the AFT introduced a bill in Sacramento for dues check-off, sponsored by Assemblyman Willie Brown of San Francisco. The purpose was to correct an inequity: UC academic employees were the only group of state employees who did not have the privilege of payroll deduction of union dues.

THE UNIVERSITY GUARDIAN

Published by the University Council – American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

2510 Channing Way
Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 841-1750

Editor: Paul Goodman
Managing Editor: Sam Bottone

Letters to the editor should not exceed 500 words.

The University Council—AFT is made up of the following locals:
Local 1474 - Berkeley
Local 1795 - Berkeley librarians
Local 2023 - Davis
Local 1966 - Riverside
Local 1990 - UCLA
Local 2034 - San Diego
Local 2141 - Santa Barbara
Local 2226-Irvine

The bill passed both the Assembly and the Senate by mid-October. Its passage through the Legislature was greatly helped by the support UC-AFT received from the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO and the California Federation of Teachers.

Once the legislature acted, the Regents at their October meeting voted to extend payroll dues deduction privileges to academic employees. The policy is now in effect, although Governor Reagan vetoed the bill in early November.

The significance of employee organization dues deductions for academic staff is that it constitutes formal recognition by UC that unions represent faculty and other academic staff. This is a new stage in the University's labor relations policy.

Although it is University policy, in general, to recognize and deal with employee organizations, in practice it tended to be applied primarily to union representatives of non-academic and non-Senate academic staff. Up until now, the University usually has taken the position that only the Academic Senate represents the faculty views, even in matters relating to employment policies and working conditions.

The justification for payroll deduction, according to the President's office, is that "it would provide the basis for more formal procedures in dealing with employee organizations." As a result, University Administration will be expected to deal with the AFT as an organization representing faculty, librarians and academic staff in all matters relating to salaries, fringe benefits and all matters relating to conditions of employment.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

I wish to join the American Federation of Teachers and I agree to pay monthly dues as follows:

Librarians I & II	– $4	Instructors	– $5	Assistant Professors	– $6
Librarians III & IV	– $6	Professors	– $12	Associate Professors	– $9

Dues for other categories will be comparable to those paid by the professorial ranks. Minimum monthly dues for part-time faculty are $5.00.

NOTE: Union Dues are tax deductible.

NAME (PRINT) _____

SOC. SEC. # _____

HOME ADDRESS _____

CAMPUS _____

DEPARTMENT _____

RANK OR OTHER CLASS _____

PART-TIME _____ FULL-TIME _____

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

Send to the local President , or to University Council-AFT, 2510 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94704

BERKELEY: Patricia St. Lawrence, Genetics
BERKELEY: Rudolf Lednicky, Library
DAVIS: Roland Marchand, History
IRVINE: Alan Rogers, History
LOS ANGELES: Lora Weinroth, French
RIVERSIDE: Robert Singer, Psychology
SAN DIEGO: Wayne Vernon, Physics
SANTA BARBARA: Bernard Kirtman, Chemistry
SANTA CRUZ: Bruce Larkin, Cowell College